156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
• 628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

/158 cont./

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/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

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In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

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There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

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30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the paje /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the paje (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papuri, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the paje. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the paje come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The paje will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192]

36. As for the poisoning by the caxiri or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the paje, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
• 628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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192 535 796 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] [622] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the paje. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 • [628] The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with this proposal. [178] Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

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764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one • [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihí (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into wãx-tí (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of wãx-tí?)).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxi (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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881 All these premarital relations (115)

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115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the paje, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

•[628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

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When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

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The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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628 831 648 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

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592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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2) Local or Territorial Group.

a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

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Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

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With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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173 554 614 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 554 614 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a division into groups which have established themselves in closer or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

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> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.